

Message Text

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73

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2656

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

DIA

AMCONSUL MILAN

AMCONSUL NAPLES

AMCONSUL FLORENCE

AMCONSUL GENOA

AMCONSUL PALERMO

AMCONSUL TRIESTE

AMCONSUL TURIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 11968

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IT

SUBJECT: FURTHER PRESS SPECULATION ON POSSIBLE US-PCI RAPPROACHE-
MENT

REF: A) ROME 11473 (NOTAL) B) ROME 11479 (NOTAL)

C) ROME 11672 (NOTAL) C) ROME 11741 (NOTAL)

1. LEFTIST WEEKLY ESPRESSO DATED AUGUST 24 CARRIES AN ARTICLE
ENTITLED "DEAR JERRY, CARISSIMO ENRICO" WHICH IS DEVOTED TO A
DESCRIPTION OF THE OCTOBER 24-26 CONFERENCE TO BE HELD BY THE
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS (CFR). THE THRUST OF THE ARTICLE
IS THAT THE CFR CONFERENCE WILL BE AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD
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BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI)

AND THE USG, A DEVELOPMENT WHICH THE PCI REGARDS AS ESSENTIAL IN ITS MOVE TOWARD POLITICAL POWER IN ITALY.

2. THE INFORMATION ABOUT THE CFR CONFERENCE THAT IS REPORTED IN THE ARTICLE IS ATTRIBUTED TO INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE INVITATION SENT TO SERGIO SEGRE, HEAD OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SECTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI). THE ARTICLE NOTES THAT THE LIST OF AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED WITH SEGRE'S INVITATION INCLUDED DAVID ROCKEFELLER, GEORGE BALL, ZBIGNIEW, BRZEZINSKI, LUIGI EINAUDI (NOT IDENTIFIED AS WORKING IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE) AND SENATOR PATRICK LEAHY. ON THE ITALIAN SIDE THE LIST INCLUDES, IN ADDITION TO SEGRE, GIOVANNI AGNELLI, ODDO BIASINI (SECRETARY OF PRI), PIETRO LEZZI (PSI, FLAVIO ORLANDI (PSDI), MARIO DIDO' OR ALDO BONACCINI OF CGIL, AND FABRIZIA BADUEL OF CISL. THE ARTICLE SUGGESTS THAT AGNELLI HAS ALREADY REACHED A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE PCI AND THAT HE IS INCLUDED AS AN INTERLOCUTOR FOR THE PCI WITH DAVID ROCKEFELLER.

3. THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS IS DESCRIBED AS A CONSULTANT TO USG AND AS THE "MOST INFLUENTIAL" SUCH GROUP IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. IT WAS NOTED THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER IN THE PAST HAD BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE CFR. BRZEZINSKI IS CHARACTERIZED AS THE BEST KNOWN AND MOST AUTHORITATIVE PERSON NOW IN THE CFR. THE ARTICLE STATES THAT BRZEZINSKI HAD A NUMBER OF CONVERSATIONS WITH SEGRE IN ITALY IN NOVEMBER 1974. THE ARTICLE IMPLIES THAT BRZEZINSKI FAVORS THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE. HE IS QUOTED IN LENGTH ON THE THEME THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF ITALY AND FRANCE HAVE BECOME CONSERVATIVE AND ARE NO LONGER REVOLUTIONARY, A FACT WHICH HE SAYS INCREASES THE PROBABILITY THAT THEY WILL ENTER GOVERNMENT COALITIONS. BRZEZINSKI IS ALSO QUOTED AS SAYING THAT IT WAS NOT USG ACTIONS BUT THE LACK OF AGREEMENT AMONG CHILEANS THAT LED TO THE FALL OF ALLENDE. ACCORDINGLY, HE CAUTIONS ITALIANS TO STOP WORRYING ABOUT AMERICAN OR OTHER FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND TO DEVOTE THEIR ENERGIES TO IMPROVING THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT. THE ARTICLE ALSO QUOTES PROFESSOR NORMAN KOGAN AS SAYING THAT THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE WOULD IMPROVE THE EFFICIENCY OF THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT BUT WOULD NOT CHANGE THE CHARACTER OF ITALIAN SOCIETY OR THE BASIC DIRECTION OF ITS INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL POLICIES.

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PROFESSOR JOSEPH LA PALOMBARA IS ALSO QUOTED AS SAYING THAT USG NEUTRALITY TOWARD THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE WOULD NOT BE SUFFICIENT, BUT THAT POSITIVE SUPPORT FOR AN ITALIAN GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THE PCI PARTICIPATES WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO ITS SUCCESS. THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES BY NOTING THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS BEEN OPPOSED TO THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE. IT ASKS WHETHER HE STILL HAS THE SAME VIEW AND SPECULATES THAT THE CFR CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK WILL SERVE TO CHANGE THAT VIEW.

4. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CENTRIST WEEKLY IL SETTIMANALE OF 27 AUGUST CONTAINS A LENGTHY ARTICLE ON THE PCI RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW (REF C). THE ARTICLE IS ENTITLED WITH A QUOTE ATTRIBUTED TO TITO AS A DISCRITPON OF THE PCI: "LEONI A ROMA E TOPI AL CREMLINO" (LIONS IN ROME AND MICE IN THE KREMLIN). THE ARTICLE STATES THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE MISSION OF PAJETTA, NATTA, AND CERVETTI TO MOSCOW (REF C) WAS TO GET SOVIET APPROVAL OF THE PCI'S EFFORT TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE BY THE USG. THIS EFFORT OBVIOUSLY REQUIRES, FROM THE PCI'S POINT OF VIEW, A CONTINUATION OF THE BERLINGUER POLICY OF INDEPENDENCE FROM MOSCOW AND ADVOCACY OF DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM. ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE, THERE WERE SHARP DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF PCUS AND PCI, WITH THE FORMER INSISTING (WITH THREATS) THAT THE PCI RETURN TO THE ORTHODOXY AS STATED BY ZARADOV IN PRAVDA. THE PCUS REPRESENTATIVES FINALLY AGREED TO ACCEPT, AS A TEMPORARY TACTICAL DEVICE, THE PCI'S PURSUIT OF USG ACCEPTANCE AND ITS PROPAGANDA EMPHASIS ON INDEPENDENCE FROM MOSCOW AND ON DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM, BUT ONLY ON THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:

- 1) FULL PCI SUPPORT FOR CUNHAL AND THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY.
- 2) FULL SUPPORT FOR SOVIET POLICY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST INCLUDING USE OF THE PCI PROPAGANDA APPARATUS FOR PALESTINIAN AND AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.
- 3) A COMMITTMENT BY THE PCI TO NOT SUPPORT THE "AUTONOMIST PRE-TENTIONS" OF TITO AND CEAUSESCU.

THE PCI REPRESENTATIVES ALLEGEDLY ACCEPTED ALL OF THESE CONDITIONS.

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5. COMMENT: THE ARTICLE IN ESPRESSO IS THE LATEST IN A SERIES OF WHAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE A CALCULATED CAMPAIGN TO ASSURE VISAS FOR PCI OFFICIALS WISHING TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO SUGGEST PCI ACCEPTABILITY TO THE USG. THE FACT THAT ESPRESSO HAD AVAILABLE TO IT THE TEXT OF SEGRE'S INVITATION FROM THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS STRONGLY SUGGESTS THAT THE ARTICLE WAS WRITTEN AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE PCI.

6. THE ARTICLE IN THE SETTIMANALE CONTAINS THE FULLEST DISCRPTION OF THE ZARADOV ARTICLE IN PRAVDA THAT HAS YET APPEARED IN THE ITALIAN PRESS. WE, OF COURSE, HAVE NO WA OF CONFIRMING THE ARTICLE'S SPECULATION ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SOVIET AND ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTIES; HOWEVER, WE DO NOTE THAT THE PCI'S NEWSPAPER UNITA

HAS BEEN TAKING A MUCH MORE FAVORABLE LINE TOWARD CUNHAL AND
THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS IN THE LAST TEN DAYS OR SO. VOLPE

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